/437 cont./

30| independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and large social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Tamans more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[344] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 218). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

## D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is alto-
•178 gether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth mentioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has
[175] never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

60 115 /135/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent uses of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved in any manner which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object lacks poor and action, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

•178 411 234 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the last two centuries in which Europeans and Tatuzia came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for game. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have forcibly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Tatuzia did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

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or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (117).

117. Wrigbarch.B: writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the companions" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:130. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Widmer:I,194 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of ancient art. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, *ofiol*, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoes would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only conveyance of navigation of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (128). Its advantages and its

128. Cooper:127 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and ribs and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (p):139 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious work by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

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anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fuegians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion: the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fuegians and to this day there is a bow stave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion: the passage referred to is in English/) (188).

> 188.Cooper:200 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgan in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fuegians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, during trades for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237, 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (189). /463/ Later, however,

> 189. When he (b):220 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique can across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (d):363 and (h):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 191

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411 178 maintains that "the Yahgans who live in the region east of the Beagle Channel also use the bow and arrow to hunt guanaco" /translated from French/, whereas, according to Hyades (q):300, they were used in the central region to hunt birds (161). The

161. "These arrows are used very little at Orange Bay; the Fuegians say that they are sometimes useful to them in killing birds" (ibid.) /translated from French/.

Italian expedition under Bove that traveled through those regions in the following year saw neither bow nor arrow. Spegazzini's private complaint (a):162 prevailed also among his companions, namely, that among the Fuegians "the bow and arrows are well known to them, but I saw no one carrying such instruments" /translated from Spanish/. Luck was so little with Lovisato (a): 198 and (c):721 that he cried in despair: "The Yahgan... have neither bows nor arrows; on the contrary, I found no one among these people who knew how to make an arrow point for me" /translated from Italian/ (162). On my four trips I made a point

162. He (b):137 describes these weapons in detail as unique among the Selk'nam; he also mentions that they are used by the Halakwulup, but not by the Yamana. Compare Krickeberg: 318.

of asking about bows and arrows, but not a single specimen was in existence. Similarly, Lothrop (b):155 was unable to find out anything about them.

411 From these communications and reports, which could be amplified with unessential details, we may deduce the undeniable fact that this Indian tribe actually used bow and arrow. The conditions of our natives have been investigated much too little in the past centuries, and for a long time European ships anchored only a few days in individual places in the south and east. From the existing travel accounts one might conclude that these weapons were used more often in the east and less in the central regions,

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411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island. [178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

## a. The Bow

411 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should 171 like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are slight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

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exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

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It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (230). How she goes about it and

230. Bridges (e):331 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):157 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 20 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):234.

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According to Lovisato (b):129 the Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources she employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the man, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the woman -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the cururo (Vol. I, 277) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt in all parts of their country that they are never dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

## /514/ 1. Seal Hunting

225 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coasts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giants of this species, the bear seal, tāpe'a (Arctocephalus

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581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 589 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /691/ in Mbl:III,117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (Ibid.) (100). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 100. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 •178 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have, in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Tenedegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 589 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

587 588 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

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624 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (AM:XIII, 161,1878), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word haiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the right of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:266 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilized country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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179 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (1):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

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> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Addevia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 62 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

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ceremonies and many individual reports of the Yamana. This will bring out the value and significance of each individual part of the very extensive, complicated ceremony more distinctly and better than would a detailed description of the events of each day in chronological order. Now, in the declining years of this race and with the small number of survivors, not everything can be carried out with the same detail and accuracy as formerly. The Indians of today do not even have the undisturbed quiet and protracted time of which earlier generations were assured during this festival. Nevertheless, they still come together for the χέκαρ because it must be offered to the boys and girls; besides, it is a great satisfaction for all the adults as well to experience once more the good things of olden times in this imaginative ceremony. At its conclusion we can always see clearly how the χέκαρ stirs up all their thoughts and feelings, how it enriches and exalts them. This is evident when, in their enthusiasm, they loudly praise each performance as the best and most beautiful they have attended, /822/ when they regret that it is over so quickly, when they urgently insist that they must assemble again soon for another festival and make it a long one.

The traditional procedure and the many detailed requirements are still carried out as far as possible; the Yamana have merely somewhat relaxed the relentless austerity and rigidity of former times. Alfredo and Santiago led the performance very differently; the former was completely dominated by the earnest spirit of earlier times, whereas the latter was far too ready to make allowances for the disrupting influence of European civilization. Even this fact is valuable, however; it shows that in former times, too, the personality of each overseer or leader determined the emphasis during the ceremony. Although the many details and minor aspects that make up each day belong to the ceremonial program, nevertheless the order and frequency of repetition, the preference for one thing and the emphasis placed on another are variations for which there are no fixed rules. They are brought about by the character of the overseer, the mood of influential participants, the humor and inclination of the public, and finally by purely external influences. Such insignificant variations in one or another performance are sometimes very noticeable and, as a result, are always stimulating.

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X 788 357 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X 788 358 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the ʔíʔaxaxa hut wore the feather crown, hapaxʔi, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the chuʔala. The latter wear a hapaxʔi of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 712).

X 788 359 [179] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS



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In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

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FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Wight, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

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The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73c) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 30 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

### DORY

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Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.